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*H. Franchise (Gage) (Mugent Sample)
Wing of Book.*

A
R E V I E W
OF THE
C O N D U C T
OF HIS EXCELLENCY
JOHN, EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,
DURING HIS
ADMINISTRATION IN IRELAND.

1781

1780

R. Hobart (John) Esq
Buckinghamshire

R E V E N U E

OF THE

C O M M I S S I O N E R S

OF HIS MAJESTY'S



JOHN, EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE

RESIDING HIS

ADMINISTRATION IN IRELAND.

A
 R E V I E W
 OF THE
 C O N D U C T
 OF HIS
 E X C E L L E N C Y
 JOHN, EARL OF BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,
 LORD LIEUTENANT GENERAL, AND
 GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND,
 DURING HIS
 ADMINISTRATION IN THAT KINGDOM;
 IN A
 L E T T E R
 ADDRESSED TO A
 N O B L E L O R D.

In Praise we nobly give what Gods may take.

D'AVENANT.

D U B L I N:
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 MDCCLXXXI.



INTRODUCTION.

IT is hoped the publication of the following Letter will not be deemed improper, either in a moral or political sense, at this juncture. To our present Viceroy, whose attention to the welfare of Ireland has been great and uncommon, much is certainly due ; which, as a member of the community so eminently obliged, and as far as his ability would permit, the author has endeavoured to discharge. Uninfected by party prejudice, he has made a dispassionate review of facts, which, he flatters himself, can hardly fail of exciting a becoming sense of gratitude towards that Nobleman ; and consequently, of freeing the minds of many, from those unmanly and pernicious fears, with which, it is impossible, that enriching spirit of Industry, whereon

whereon the welfare of this country seems now to depend, can exist. In a commercial state, despondency is another name for ruin. Only with Hope Prosperity cohabits; and therefore, be it the purpose of these sheets, not vainly but truly, not because the author wishes to see his countrymen happy, but because he is persuaded they may be so, to encourage the former. Freedom of export and import is now their own, and let him recall to their memory, that the best writers upon the affairs of Ireland, late as well as living, have asserted that, with this advantage, industry only would be requisite to make them a great and wealthy people*. Abundantly possessed

* Vid. Sir John Davis's Discourses, p. 6, 194. Sir W. Temple's Works, vol. iii. p. 8. Molyneux's Nat. Hist. p. 6, 52. Com. Journ. v. ii. p. 576. Doctor Warner's Hist. Ireland, Introduction, p. 39. And, Commercial Restraints of Ireland considered, p. 151, 233.

as they are of commodities for export, which must be ever welcome abroad, and can never fail at home, unless Nature becomes no longer procreant, or, in other words, Ireland ceases to be, what Sir John Davis described it—†, the “Terra rivo-
 “rum, aquarumque & fontium; in cujus
 “campis, & montibus, erumpunt flumi-
 “norum abyssi; terra frumenti & hordei,
 “terra lactis & mellis, ubi absque ulla
 “penuria comedes panem tuum, & re-
 “rum abundantia perfrueris,”—to *fear*
 is to be *ungrateful*, as well for the *boun-
 ties* of Providence, as for the *commercial
 advantages* so recently obtained.

† Historical Relations, p. 123. Vid. Deuteronomy,
 ch. viii. from v. 7.

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1901



L E T T E R

T O A

N O B L E L O R D.

MY LORD,

INDEPENDENT of the aim of those writers, who, stimulated by a love of innovation, or by motives of personal interest, endeavour to distract and divide, it is a real misfortune to the peace of society, that numbers may be found, especially amongst those who are ambitious of appearing upon the political theatre, so inattentive to their own frailty, as, instead of employing the tongue of charity to correct, or the hand of benevolence to conceal the errors of mortality, to make the most unreasonable demands upon human nature, and judge of others

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as if perfection were to regulate the conduct of mankind. Nor, perhaps, is it less unfavourable to public felicity, that many, deficient in the wisdom of experience, or being of a temper too sanguine, feel their affections suddenly excited by some peculiar excellence of character, and give ready credit for every other. Minds, so disposed, are subject to resentments as violent, as their mortifications are frequent and extraordinary: for, their disgust cannot but be proportionate to the disappointment they experience in discovering imperfections which, although they must subsist, were totally unexpected.

NATURE, your Lordship well knows, has, in the height of her liberality, an eye to thrift; which governing principle, absolutely forbids a coalescence of rare endowments. Exquisite wit, genius, judgment, understanding, and the virtues, are too many splendent perfections to blaze in one gem. She has rarely, perhaps never, permitted it. She makes no one mind her treasury; but, however munificent to some, reserves enough to be bountiful to all. She maintains a stile in her works appropriate to herself,

herself, which, marked with some distinguishing peculiarity, may be found in each. Hence, although that stile may be as uniformly maintained in a Swift as in an Addison, in a Sterne as in a Locke, the impropriety of looking for the characteristic qualifications of any two of these in the same mind. He, therefore, who wishes to make a fair estimate of any character, will endeavour to see it as nature intended it should be seen; and, having surveyed it, not partially but altogether, and taken into consideration what art has done, will determine accordingly.

SUCH a maxim, my Lord, might be of use to many at present; who, from an opinion of its infallibility, having embraced a particular idea of the patriotic character, reject, as pretenders thereto, all those, whose actions are not uniformly in accordance with that idea *. But,

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* To the unhappy prevalence of this popular temper, which party never ceases to cultivate, it is solely to be ascribed that no character has ever been more unjustly reviled, than that of a noble duke; who, though hitherto foremost in the support of every measure really essential to the welfare

if the difference in the temper of minds, the extraordinary force of education, and many other

fare of Ireland, and of a temper that considered every pound as lost, which was not in some measure appropriated to its good, has been chimerically pronounced a wilful traitor to its interests, to those interests in which his own dearest concerns are unquestionably involved. But, as in dress, so in politics, a fashion must prevail. The present indeed, may be described, properly enough, by the words political popery, since its advocates defend it as infallibility itself. To renounce it, therefore, must be considered by them, as a heresy beyond the reach of pardon, especially in a duke, whose example may induce imitation, and whose strength would be a certain prop to their cause. Much art, which often prevails over much merit, has, in consequence, been exerted against him. But, were there no other circumstance to evince the truth, the prolongation of their abuse, proves, beyond a possibility of doubt, that it is party, not patriotism, they endeavour to support; and that he has been reviled, not for his political conduct, but his consequence; not for having voted with, but because he is wanted from administration. Patriotism, generous and benevolent as it is, even if convinced that persecution could make proselytes, would reject its aid with indignation and contempt. But, were we to look into those courts of political judicature which party has established, those courts wherein Reason would be as much ashamed to appear, as in the inquisition of Goa, we should see that
monster

other influencing circumstances be forgotten, is it not natural, my Lord, that disappointment should

monster preside ! we should see reputations seized, tormented, mangled ! see even the honour of the first peer of the realm put upon the rack !—and for what ?—Let us throw aside even just resentment, and examine. When, in consequence of the general wish of a numerous and loyal people, who, for more than a century, had borne accumulated distresses with uncomplaining patience, our truly patriotic parliament, constitutionally represented to our Sovereign, in terms as manly as they were moderate, that “no temporizing expedients could save this nation from destruction, but a free and un-
“limited trade to all her ports :”—When his Majesty, truly attentive to this honest representation from his people, and wishful to approve himself by no means inclined to deal his favours with a partial hand to any member of the political family of which he is the head, proposed, by his minister, whose open, liberal, and disinterested conduct through the whole of this arduous transaction will recommend his name to after-generations, that it should rest upon our own representatives, to secure to us, for ever, a full participation of the trade which, by the toil of ages, hazardous adventure, reiterated warfare, and the expence of millions of her treasure, England had established in foreign nations :——When administration, as if solicitous, at once to recompense our past misfortunes, and to crown justice with an act of generosity which the history of no other nation can parallel, offered, unsolicited and unexpected, what to us was supereminently important,

should baffle such unreasonable expectations? Not a particular, but, as I have already hinted,

important, a right in the colonial commerce;—a right to export all commodities which we grew or manufactured, directly to the colonies;—a right to export the various articles of foreign nations, whether, immediately brought hither or not from the places of their growth or manufacture, whether as we obtained them, or fabricated by our own artizans, directly to the colonies;—a right to import the products of the African, American, and West India settlements, under the same restrictions by which Great Britain was bound, and to export them, at our pleasure, to any part of the world; whether wrought by our mechanics, or in their native state:—When these “glad tidings” were received, and parliament, for the first time, spoke praise, nothing but praise:—When there seemed but one mind in the kingdom and that contented, but one tongue, and that employed in the becoming duty of congratulation, or the deserved plaudits of the King, his Minister, and our Chief Governor, even then, party meditated mischief, meditated to poison that cup of felicity, from which, it is not to be wondered at, we drank freely indeed, and to ruin our hopes of lasting welfare and repose by reviving obsolete claims upon Britain, or creating new ones. We had but ruminated upon the blessing so recently obtained, had but time to look forward to the moment which was to establish us a commercial nation and for ever, when the arts of periodical essayists were too successfully exerted to induce the multitude to believe; that, without a declaration of our rights, and a repeal

ed, the whole of a character must be considered, if that character is to be rightly understood; nor,

repeal or modification of the law of Poyning, a free trade would be an absolute nullity, as being subject to future restraint, and our liberties positively undefined and insecure. As a reply to the former false proposition, I would ask this question. If the joint act of our King, Lords and Commons be insufficient to establish to us freedom of commerce, by what means could a declaration of the commons alone secure it? Volumes have been, and may be written upon the subject, but volumes will be insufficient to explain the mystery. In fact, if freedom of trade be not now secure to us, all the declarations which the Commons could frame would no more make it so, than the most subtle logician could prove, that, by a repeal of Poyning's act, we should prevent the agency of an advising power between our Sovereign and us, in matters of legislation. As to the former case, a declaration of rights, it is evident, we fought for shadows; since, to the disinclination or inability of Great Britain to hurt us, rather than to any such act of our Commons, we must owe security; and, as for the latter case, whether we modify or repeal the law of Poyning, our pride must still suffer, for it is pride rather than reason that complains, by the intervention, if not of our own council, of a stranger at least. A late revival of these topics, which formerly too much disturbed the public, renders it not improper to add, that, without considering the danger of innovation, we should, in all probability, not only lose friends by repealing Poyning's

act,

nor, as I conceive, are we to reprobate this because it does not include the discriminative qualifications

act, "without a possibility of gaining any,"* but see the power, wrested from the Privy-Council, "transferred to the Peerage, by whom it might be constitutionally employed in its fullest extent of operation."† In truth, this act, which has caused so much idle clamour and ill-will, was "meant" as a writer attests, who cannot be suspected of partiality towards it, ‡ "to draw the bands" which held Britain and us together "yet closer." Nor does it give, he adds, "any power to the King of acting on the offensive, or commencing hostilities against the liberties of Ireland, except "by the connivance and corruption of our own parliament." This observation, it is to be noticed, by no means makes against the act, since, if our Sovereign beheld our liberties with a jealous eye, and were favoured by the "connivance and corruption of our parliament," he might wage war against them, though it had never existed. Wherefore, it gives him no new power to hurt us, and must be so far harmless. In addition to all this, it may be observed, that, were we to make inquiry into the conduct of the Privy Council for almost an age back, we should probably find ourselves authorized to assert that, not a bill really propiti-

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* Vid. Letters on the Temper of the Times, p. 279

† Ibid. p. 28.

‡ Vid. a Letter in the Freeman's Journal of 25th Novemb. 1780, signed Toby Butler.

fications of that. A Demosthenes and a Cicero though, in particulars, exactly alike, were in the

ous to the interests of humanity, or absolutely essential to the welfare of Ireland, was, in the course of so long a time, with-held, by that body, from the royal eye. But, should such a review be thought inconvenient, it may be of utility to some who, though foes to innovation, have been induced to look upon the existence of the Privy Council with suspicion, at least to call into remembrance its late conduct. It did not with-hold any bill calculated to promote the freedom of trade.—It did not with-hold the bills so propitious to the manufactures and agriculture of Ireland, which grant a bounty on the exportation of our linen, our fall-cloth, and our corn, and provide premiums for the growers of hemp and flax-seed.—It did not with-hold the bill for the punishment of those never-failing preventatives of industry and emulation, combinations, amongst the master and journeymen mechanics.—It did not with-hold the bill for the relief of our popish brethren; or that which rescues the truly-respectable body of protestant dissenters from the influence of the test act; or that which, conceived in benevolence, and founded upon principles of justice and true patriotism, secures an almost invaluable, but before precarious, property to the freeholders of Ireland. If an assent, including of course an acknowledgment of the conscientious conduct of the Privy Council, must be given to all this: if no proof exist, and none I believe is to be found, that the operation

the aggregate, absolutely dissimilar ; and, in my opinion, it would be the extravagance of folly, to

ration of the law of Poyning * has been really injurious to the welfare of the public : if it be certain that no declaration of our Commons alone could add to the security of our commercial and political liberty, provided for as it already is by many acts of our legislature ; and, finally, if the blessings conferred upon us by a free trade, be, as the people again begin to think, and as I am certain they are, great and unequivocal ; how ungenerous must the intelligent part of the public, now that reflection can dispassionately act, consider the propagators of those doctrines which betrayed the multitude into an extraordinary renunciation of gratitude, and a forgetfulness of real good in imaginary evil ? And, of course, how prudent, spirited and becoming the dignity of his station, was it, in the first peer of the realm to stand forth, unawed by a certainty of abuse, in opposition to those whose endeavours were likely to prove truly formidable to the peace, truly fatal to the welfare of the kingdom ; which, certainly, was not to be promoted, as the upright Pery expressed himself, by “ pernicious suspicions and jealousies,” but by “ industry and œconomy through the nation.”

It would be injurious to the understanding of my readers to suppose the facts, thus collected in one point of view, and stated with simplicity and candour, were not fully sufficient to convince them, that the then conduct of the noble Duke, whose

* The repeal of which was first demanded by the Papists, in 1642.

to say that Demosthenes was an imperfect character, because he was not more than nature intended, a Demosthenes and Cicero at once. I confess, my Lord, however wishful to see the influence of virtue extend, as a christian, I can contentedly bless Heaven for those instances of the nobility of human nature, which history affords; as a subject, I can rest satisfied that my Sovereign is no better than a man; and, as a native of Ireland, far from wishing to quarrel with our excellent Chief Governor for not being

whose name, previous to that period, continued unknown to abuse, was truly proper; and that the insults offered to him by pretended friends of the constitution, were absolutely unconstitutional, as being offered to a peer, who, in his legislative capacity, is "absolutely independent of the people," and as tending to annihilate the "boasted glory of our constitution, freedom of debate." Nor, when I shall give an answer, to a few hacknied and ill-founded objections which have been industriously made to the Mutiny Act, shall I fear to be censured for presumption, in asserting my belief, that the part he took in establishing that law, will appear as disinterested and just to all those who do not look for perfection of character, or judge of it by a part, but from a candid review of the whole.

* Vid, a late spirited Protest of the Citizens of Dublin,

ing what he is not, I can praise him for being just what he is.

HOWEVER this observation may seem to promise, permit me to assure your Lordship, this epistle is not intended to enlarge, by one artificial good quality, the list of virtues confessedly possessed by your illustrious friend. The aid of invention indeed, upon this occasion, would be absolutely frivolous, since, veneration and esteem being already his, what has gratitude to offer more? Not, then, to the eminence of his rank, but the pre-eminence of his virtue; not to those titles which he inherits from his ancestors, but to that nobility which was born of himself, * that nobility of which he is the head and origin, is this tribute presented. That it is not intrinsically more valuable is not to be imputed to the will of the donor. Yet, he gives, perhaps, what is good, giving his best, and, allow me to add, it is given with sincerity. His Excellency cannot doubt the fact, since, unplaced, unpensioned, unsolicited and unknown,

* Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus. Tacit. annal. lib. 11.

known, what motive could influence the writer, but an anxious desire to do justice to the vigorous, the unremitted, the successful endeavours of an illustrious advocate for the interests of Ireland? Nor is he afraid that his endeavours will prove unacceptable to his countrymen, or to his Excellency offensive. They, my Lord, are sufficiently sagacious to determine properly upon desert, and as liberal in their wishes to reward it: and, his Excellency, I am convinced, is too intelligent and well read, to avert himself from applause, honestly and laboriously earned, and offered as the real homage of the heart—not of an individual, but of an obliged nation. In truth, my Lord, I dare not think otherwise of his Excellency, having been long since induced to believe, and by an authority truly respectable, as well, that it is by no means a proof of dignity of soul to reject praise, when offered, not to those adventitious recommendations, riches and rank, titles and employments, but to that, without which greatness is only a fantastic creature of the imagination—desert of heart; as, that little indeed is to be expected from him, who manifests an indifference to the esteem in which the world may hold his actions; and that such

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a temper, far from indicating humility, is a proof positive of arrogance in the extreme. * Satisfied though I am of the validity of this observation, I am as well convinced, my Lord, that modesty and merit are inseparably confederated; wherefore, I should endeavour to controul inclination, did I feel myself desirous to become a spendthrift of applause. But no such unnecessary wish prevails. Be it left to those to flatter, who find little to praise. It is my determination to sacrifice to truth. It is my determination to live respectably in his Excellency's remembrance, and at no time to alienate the applause of the heart. I mean to praise your noble friend, but not to flatter. I mean to praise him, my Lord, but am determined to be applauded by myself.

NEXT to the art of earning praise, the sweetest science of humanity is to bestow it truly. Yet, in general, he only can do that, who possesses

* Adhibenda est quædam reverentia & optimi cujusque & reliquorum. Nam negligere quid de se quisque sentiat, non solum arrogantis est, sed etiam omnino dissoluti. Tull. Offic. lib. 1. n. 99.

ses the rare ability of discriminating exactly between real greatness and its bodiless pageant, intrinsic merit and outside appearance, which, Socrates did not scruple to assert, included all the wisdom of man.* Much, however, of the difficulty usually attending attempts of this nature, I shall happily escape. His Excellency's character, I conceive, is not marked by those artful peculiarities, those studied minutiae which perplex the critic at times; but, like the simple page of elegant antiquity, is examined with pleasure because easily understood. Besides, as the opinion of the best and wisest amongst my countrymen, presents itself to direct me in my progress, methinks I shall have little to distress me, but an inability to give satisfactory utterance to the feelings of my heart. But, my Lord, to a first attempt, some indulgence is due. It will be much wanting to this, and, I flatter myself, will be cheerfully given. Yet, however coarse my pencil, and homely my stile, I trust, the portrait I shall draw, will exhibit, at least, one essential of a good picture—a true similitude of the original.

IMITATIVE

* Socrates hanc summam dixit esse sapientiam, bona malique distinguere. Sen. Ep. 71.

IMITATIVE of none of his predecessors, his Excellency has surpassed them all. I dare not say, my Lord, he had at any time singularity in view; but, if he had, it was a glorious singularity, since, I may safely assert, that, in his viceroyal capacity, he has been happily original indeed. Chesterfield, however critical the period of his vicegerency, and however gratefully and deservedly remembered by Irishmen, is but a secondary in the constellation of viceroys. It is true, he came to illuminate our horizon, and at a gloomy season; but much more luring was that which a BUCKINGHAM enlivened with the true warmth and resplendence of political sunshine. Our trade almost ruined—our emulation lethargic—our commerce manacled—our manufactures declining—our artizans wandering in hundreds, and depending for existence upon the precarious gift of charity—our taxes high—our credit low—our confidence in each other almost annihilated by reiterated failures—Much had we to ask who felt so much. Yet, my Lord, on what could we found a hope of relief, but on the parental generosity of our Sovereign, and his Excellency's disinterested wish to serve us? These accumulated distresses, however,

however, which had been growing for years, appeared as so many difficulties in his road to popularity. To see them all, and speedily removed, was what his Excellency could scarcely have expected, and to relieve them but in part, would be to leave us in wretchedness still. Events, however, have proved to be practicable, what, not long since, flattery itself would have blushed to call possible ; so that, my Lord, from those very circumstances which seemingly boded discomfort to his Excellency, the glory of his administration has principally arisen. Hope has now awakened from a trance of years, to enjoy realities, which had charmed but in a dream. Trade is recruited. Emulation is alive. Manufactures prosper where idleness lately loitered ; and, as far as human prudence could operate, the nation is secured from those dreadful calamities which, within the course of but a few years, had been repeatedly experienced from a dearth of corn. *

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* In 1765 grain was so dear, that two acts were passed to prevent its consumption in the distillery, and its exportation for a limited time. Nevertheless, a dearth was so severely felt by the poor, in the Spring following, that it became

my Lord, is no longer fearful of seeing the home-market overstocked, since, if there be a redundancy of grain, other nations are ready to receive, and a bounty tempts him to export it. Independent of every moral consideration, wise was it, my Lord, thus to endeavour to secure to the nation, at least a competence of that necessary of life, which, though the chief, had of late, too little engaged the attention of the farmer. Manufactures can only speed to perfection where provisions are to be had at a moderate rate. Even a temporary dearth proves almost fatal to the working poor; and as they are the sinews of strength in a commercial country, it becomes the patriot, to endeavour, by every means, to secure them from such calamity. The attempt has been I hope successfully made under his Excellency's administration; and, an encouragement being now ours to manufacture the products of our soil, without which,

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came expedient for government to advance several sums for the purchase of corn, to those towns which had solicited relief. (Vid. Com. Jour. vol. xiv. p. 69, 114, 151. And, in 1770 and 1771, grain was at so exorbitant a price, as to occasion its being mentioned from the throne. Vid. Ibid. p. 665.

real wealth could never become the characteristic of the nation, it is to be expected the enhanced value of lands will cease to be a grievance to the poor. Indeed, that the trade, to which that value, as well as the greater part of the wealth of the kingdom is owing, must, considerably and rapidly advance, can hardly now be doubted even by those whose hopes are least alive *. When the exportation of white and unbleached linens was permitted from hence to the ports of Asia, Africa and America, the restrictions which forbade our importation of commodities directly from thence †, operated so immediately against that privilege, that it continued advantageous to the Irish to send their linens, for the greater part, to England. The prosperity of trade depending upon a mutuality of barter, it could not be expected that the nations who wanted our linens, would purchase them from us, with specie, unless offered con-

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siderably

* Doctor Warner asserts, that if all the sheep-walks in Ireland were to be converted into tillage for hemp and flax, and all the labouring hands of the island were to be employed in that manufacture, they would find a market for it. Vid. Hist. Ireland Introduct. p. xli.

† By the 3d and 4th Anne. ch. ix.

considerably under value, when obtainable from Britain, in return for commodities raised or manufactured amongst themselves. Such restrictions however no longer operating against us, and, abundantly provided as we are, or capable of being, as well by art as nature, with articles for interchange, which must ever continue valuable to almost all mankind, we may now appear, my Lord, at foreign markets, not as petitioning sellers, but as welcome buyers; not to deprive the people with whom we may deal, of their poor stock of circulating cash, but to enrich them and ourselves at once, by purchasing the redundancy of their productions. Besides, my Lord, the bounty payable upon the exportation of our coarse linen *, will, it may be reasonably expected, fully enable us to meet those who were our competitors, even at the English markets, in that, the only article of our flaxen manufacture which seems to have admitted competition, without a fear. This is a matter of real moment to this kingdom; since, it is well known, that, some time ago, England was

* Three halfpence the yard—a powerful allurements to industry and commerce!

was reduced to the necessity of paying France for that article, at the rate of 700,000*l.* a year*, a circumstance doubly fatal to us, as tending to establish a manufacture amongst our foes, in which, it is certain, by spirited perseverance and industry, we may speedily rival the world. The important trade for sail-cloth also, lost in a great measure to this country, by the British act of 1750†, will, it is to be imagined, speedily revive under the inspiring influence of the bounty now payable upon its exportation from hence, so as to enable us, at least to rival the Germans, Russians and Dutch, who, to their great emolument, as much as to our loss, have too long engrossed it. Indeed, my Lord, nothing seems now wanting to render our linen manufacture absolutely independent, but an œconomical attention to the growing a quantity of flax-seed competent, or nearly so, to the demands of the nation; which, the generously seductive allure-
ment

* Vid. Anderson on Commerce, vol. ii. p. 177.

† Which laid a duty on its importation from Ireland into Great Britain, and gave bounties on its exportation from thence. The act, however, by no means operated in favour of the latter, the quantities imported in 1774, from Russia, &c. far exceeding the quantities imported in 1750.

ment of the parliamentary premiums, lately established, must, in a great measure, tend to accomplish. Reiterated experience avouches, that the climate and soil of this country, are really propitious to its growth: and, since the culture is perfectly understood, what a blessing might it be to the public, independent of the saving of more than 70,000*l.* remitted for flax-feed, yearly, were they no longer dependent upon the caprice and honesty of their neighbours, for the quality* as well as quantity of what is sent hither? † But, my Lord, whatever difficulty may, notwithstanding the munificence of our own and the liberality of the British parliament, yet stand in the way of our favourite manufacture,

* So little, sometimes, is the integrity of factors to be relied upon, that, not long since, two gentlemen in Dublin, lost upwards of 1300*l.* by the base quality of a parcel of flax-feed which they had imported.

† How much more laudable would it be, to promote county associations for the purpose of encouraging the growth of this valuable seed, than to waste time in forming illiberal resolutions prohibitory of importations from Great Britain, from which the generous spirit of the nation, revolts? The one would be patriotic, the other is impolitic and unjust.

manufacture*, greatly to the credit, and I am sure, the happiness of our Chief Governor, the period has arrived, which ensures it increasing success. Yet, my Lord, as a people, we need not now rest our hopes of welfare entirely upon this, at present, staple manufacture. At liberty to profit, as far as art and freedom of commerce can enable us to profit, by one of the most valuable gifts of nature to a commercial nation, a gift, in which we are not so likely to be rivalled as in the quality of our flax, woollen manufactures, which have lately very much increased, and have been most happily improved amongst us, promise fairly to become a second source of national wealth. Of these manufactures, which give support to a greater number of artists than the linen, and yield, as I am informed, a happier return to the manufacturers, there are few countries which have the great material in such abundance and perfection as this and our sister kingdom; nor are any so happily circumstanced for carrying them on. Indeed, my Lord, without the former advantage, however

* The grants of our parliament, from 1700 to 1775, for the improvement of this trade, amounted to 803,486 l.

ver manufactures may succeed for a time, it is next to impossible they can continue to prosper.* But, since we possess and are advantageously situated

* Not for many ages after the sheep had been cultivated in England, was the woollen manufacture attempted there†. On the contrary, the English for a series of years, purchased from foreigners, the cloth which had been manufactured from their own materials. However, its advantages were well known, and many unavailing efforts were made to establish it. At length its establishment was in some measure effected, by the force of royal edicts, and particularly that of Henry the Second, which was granted to the weavers in London, and directed that if any cloth was found, in which was an intermixture of Spanish wool, it should be burned by the mayor‡.

The Flemings at last, who, being situated near a country productive of wool, became rivals to the earlier Italian manufacturers, were invited to settle in England; immediately after which period; the use of foreign cloth was prohibited. From that date down to the reign of Elizabeth, and from thence to these days, every encouragement, royal and parliamentary, has been given to this manufacture; which, being considered, the wonder is, not that England watched it with a jealous eye, but that, having engrossed, she consented to participate its profits with us. The event was reserved to add glory to the reign of George the Third.

† Vid. British Zoology, vol. i. p. 23.

‡ Vid. Goldsmith's Hist. of the Earth, vol. iii. p. 43.

situated for converting it into manufactures; since improved by our own industry, it promises fairly to prevent our being absolutely dependent upon one commodity; since we possess the power, which every trading people, to become opulent, must cultivate, of pursuing those manufactures, for which we have or can obtain the principal material; since, of all the parts of the British empire, Ireland is the most happily situated for a foreign trade; and is now at liberty to enjoy those advantages, which, it seems, Providence intended for her when she was placed as a pearl upon the bosom of the Atlantic; what, my Lord, but this, should an honest and liberal-minded Irishman say? "Great Britain has convinced me that she understands the true philosophy of commerce, by permitting me, at last, to profit, to the utmost extent, by the various bounties, with which nature has stored the soil and seas of my country. Not one of these is intercepted from my use. I will be economical; industrious; look forward with patience; indulge no false hopes and vain expectations of sudden affluence*; but, growing

* Vid. Speech of Mr. Pery, to the Lord Lieutenant, on the 24th May, 1780.

“growing rich as quickly as I can, will be as
 “grateful to my Sovereign as he has been gene-
 “rous to me, enjoy those comforts which are
 “within my reach, and leave it to content-
 “ment to provide the rest.”

THUS, my Lord, an Irishman should speak, and thus Irishmen would speak, were not many, who are too indolent to seek authentic information themselves, or too ignorant to pursue the means of obtaining it, deluded, by doctrines which are dispensed only to betray, into a painful opinion, that the Mutiny-act has infringed upon their liberties, and that the freedom of commerce, so lately solicited and obtained, is but a nominal blessing. I have, my Lord, most attentively examined that act, and far from discovering a sentence—a word in its contents, injurious to the freedom of my country, I find it effectively calculated to remain a positive and final declaration of the sufficiency of the Irish legislature—to cut off, for ever, all cause of animosity between the sister kingdoms—and, to establish to the crown, a right, and only a right, of regulating the discipline of the soldiery. It does not create a new army—it does not

not perpetuate the old—it does not provide supplies for its maintenance—it does not, in any respect enable it to trespass upon the public rights, the domestic happiness; nay, the convenience of any member of the community.—What then, my Lord, have the people to fear from its operation? Would they read and understand it, *nothing*. They would then discover, that the writers are capable of any assertion, who have shamelessly declared, that it has perpetuated the army; established a dictatorship in the King and his successors; violated the Great Charter; and endangered the safety of the subject. The supplies, my Lord, for the maintenance of the army, being granted but for two years, its existence, after that period, absolutely depends upon the will of parliament. It cannot, therefore, be said to be a perpetual army; and if it be not, it is absurd to suppose a perpetual dictatorship subsisting in the King, over a body whose being is not perpetuated. 'Tis true, my Lord, the Mutiny act expresses perpetuity of power to the King and his heirs. But, for what purpose? For regulating the discipline of the army. Surely then, if the body
which

which is the object of the act, ceases to live, it would be as ridiculous to insist that the act itself can retain an efficacy, as to say its existence is a violation of the Great Charter. Magna Charta, my Lord, explicitly says, "No man shall suffer the loss of life or limb, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land." Here is an express reservation of right to the legislature to interpose, even in a case of the utmost moment to the subject, "trial by jury." But, my Lord, the Mutiny act is not calculated to deprive the meanest member of society, "of life, limb," or liberty; therefore, it cannot be a violation of the great charter.—It is now "the law of the land;" therefore, it cannot be a violation of the great charter—And, it secures the people, as far as law can secure them, from military outrage, by a special provision "that nothing contained therein, shall extend, or be construed to exempt any officer or soldier from being proceeded against by the ordinary course of law *;" therefore, it cannot be a violation of the great charter. Thus harmless, my Lord, upon examination, appears

* Vid. 19th section of the act.

appears this act, which has been so repeatedly represented to the deluded multitude, as ruinous to the liberties of Ireland. Surely, if any thing could convince the public, of the folly and danger of receiving opinions upon trust, a detection of the numerous and alarming falshoods which have been lately broached, would effectually do it. Credulity, indeed, is the sin of the people. They were told that the Mutiny act was pernicious, and believed it. They have been told that our freedom of commerce is a boasted nothing, and therefore conclude that our parliament has been insidious, and that the duty of *9s. 2½⁰d.* which it has imposed upon every hundred weight of Lump Sugar imported from Great Britain, is by no means an equalizing duty.

THAT the refiners in this kingdom, my Lord, have, for some time, had difficulties to encounter, is certain ; but these, our Sugar-act is calculated, in future, to prevent ; because, it is well known, that, in a great measure, they have been owing to a spirit of monopoly which, since the commencement of the American war, has operated with unexampled energy in Great Britain,

tain*, and to our refiners being obliged to submit to the charges and other losses of bringing their sugars circuitously from thence. From the influence of very great wealth, which only can support such a monopoly, a few British merchants, for their number may be so expressed, were enabled to secure to themselves, at least so much of the sugar imported, as enabled them to govern the market †. That such the fact has been, and that the exorbitant price, which the public has for some time been obliged to pay, for this almost necessary of life, is owing thereto, rather than a failure of crops, or the consequences of war, will, I think, become evident, from the subjoined

* If, as the best writers upon trade and commerce have asserted, it be a national blessing to prevent monopoly, our Sugar-act must accomplish it in, a great measure, to these nations.---By our market being open for Sugar brought directly from the West-Indies, it will be checked in Great Britain; and, by our being privileged to bring the same commodity from Great Britain, it must be prevented here. Disagreeable though this circumstance may be to a few, more than a million consumers of the article in this kingdom will, deem it felicitous.

† It is credibly asserted, one house alone in Scotland, engrossed to the value of 35,000 £.

subjoined authentic abstract of the wholesale prices of the best Lump Sugar in the city of Dublin, from 1760, at which period our war with France was at its height*. It will likewise shew, my Lord, that, from the termination of the French and Spanish, to the commencement

				£. s. d.	£. s. d.
* 1760	War with France,	the price from	3	18 0	to 4 11 0
1761	The same	— — —	4	6 0	to 4 11 0
1762	War with France and Spain		4	10 0	to 4 12 0
1763	Peace	— — —	3	16 0	to 4 00 0
1764	— — —		3	11 0	to 3 16 0
1765	— — —		3	13 0	to 3 16 0
1766	— — —		3	3 0	to 3 8 0
1767	— — —		3	8 0	to 3 14 0
1768	— — —		3	8 0	to 3 12 0
1769	— — —		3	9 0	to 3 12 0
1770	— — —		3	11 0	to 3 14 0
1771	— — —		3	11 0	to 3 17 0
1772	— — —		3	18 0	to 4 0 0
1773	— — —		3	15 0	to 3 19 0
1774	— — —		3	10 0	to 3 14 0
1775	— — —		3	10 0	to 3 12 0
1776	— — —		3	6 0	to 3 14 0
1777	— — —		3	18 0	to 4 10 0
1778	— — —		4	7 0	to 4 18 0
1779	— — —		4	18 0	to 5 15 0
1780	— — —		5	9 0	to 5 15 0

ment of the American war, that article continued at a very moderate price ; arising, in a year of dearth, 1772, only to 4*l.* the hundred, and being, for the residue of the time, upon an average at about 3*l.* 11*s.* To ascribe the late extraordinary advance in the price of this article, to a failure of crops in the West-India islands, would be to suppose their climate changed, and their soil no longer prolific. Nor can it be imputed to losses of the raw material in consequence of the war, since it is well known, we have made captures much more than equivalent to those. Besides, the quantity formerly supplied to our extensive American colonies, being added to the home stock, would, one might imagine, occasion a redundancy. Wherefore, my Lord, the late high prices of sugar, could be principally owing but to a monopoly ; which being established, your Lordship will perceive, it was perfectly facile for the interested, at any time, to cause an artificial scarcity. For this purpose, indeed, art continued indefatigable ; and, it is an undoubted truth, that the monopolizers sold out their sugars at, or nearly at their own prices, as well to the British refiners as to us. But, my Lord, the former being at the market, had

had the advantage of choice *, which I will rate but at 3*l*. though some estimate it at 5*l*. per cent. in the price of the article. Suppose, my Lord, two parcels, imported from the same island, but the produce of different plantations; exposed for sale in London, and rated at the same price; the one, the growth of a generous soil, is strong, though, to the eye of an unskilful person, perhaps much inferior to the other, which, being produced by niggardly ground, is weak. What is the consequence? The skilful refiner, my Lord, purchases the seemingly bad, because, from its strength, he knows it will be exceedingly productive in the refinery, and leaves the other with the importer, who is not always a judge of the quality of sugar, to be exported, perhaps to Ireland, and at the price which he received for the best.

If, my Lord, notwithstanding British monopoly enhanced the price of sugar to our refiners, and, consequently, tended to diminish the profit upon their respective capitals.—If, though deprived of the great benefit of choice,

by
 * To obtain which, the London refiners sometimes travel, even to Glasgow.

by residing at such a distance from the market :

—If, under a charge of $2\frac{1}{2}$ l. per cent. commission, freightage, and some other expences, from which the British refiner is exempt :—And, if, though our artists are incapable of obtaining so large a produce from the raw material as those in Great Britain can obtain from it, which the principal advocate * for a duty of 16s. $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. upon British refined sugar, was not ashamed to confess :—I say, my Lord, if under these great disadvantages, our refiners found an interest, which cannot but be supposed †, in continuing

* Mr. Thomson.

† In so weighty a trade as that of the refinery, though the distress of one losing year might be borne, two or three such years would prove infallibly ruinous to the majority of those who are in it. Whatever has been their situation as to profit, they have hitherto continued to work, and so actively, as to exclude the British refiner from participating more than a tenth of the trade ; a fact, proved by returns from the custom-house, and admitted, by the most strenuous advocate for the Irish refiners in the house of commons. Even Mr. Thomson, in his letter to parliament, has not intimated its being a losing trade, at any period since he pursued it, but “in February last.” Wherefore, it is by no means unreasonable to suppose, it brought a profit at

other

to supply the demands of nine-tenths of the nation, how advantageous must their situation become, when freed, as it soon must be, from all, the last only, inability in the art of refining, excepted! And, respecting that circumstance, my Lord, I submit it to your Lordship, whether it would have become the wisdom of parliament to indulge what is in truth our disgrace, to grant a bounty upon ignorance, and thereby infract our treaty with Great Britain, which stipulated, that we should not only have a free

D 2

trade

other times; and, though that profit were not to be rated so high as he admitted arose from the business "in a part of 1775 and 1776," namely *10 l. per cent. per annum*, even after allowing *2 l. per cent.* for bad debts, which, however unfortunate he may have been in his customers, is certainly more than has been lost for a continuance by other men, still the supply of nine-tenths of the people of Ireland with an article, frequently purchased for ready money, and for which none are credited longer than three months, must be an object of great importance. If a speedy return be the life of trade, and a home-market, according to doctors Davenant and Smith, the surest for the commodities raised or manufactured in our own country, these advantages our refiners eminently enjoy; nor can it be doubted that, possessing the custom of nine-tenths of the people, in a little time they may secure the whole.

trade elsewhere, but to her West-India colonies, to which in reason we had no pretence, on making ourselves subject to those restrictions and duties, to which she was liable. If our refiners be as inexpert as has been represented, methinks parliament displayed as much sound policy in suffering the most powerful stimulative to subsist that, in this case, could urge to emulation and improvement, as it shewed generosity of attention to the welfare of the Irish refineries, by establishing such a duty on the importation of British Lump Sugar, as gives our refiners an evident superiority at home*.

THE old duty, payable upon the hundred weight of British Lump Sugar imported is

The new duty is within a fraction of

The charges upon sending it hither are never less, but frequently much more, than

£	0	12	3
0	9	3	
0	3	6	
£	1	5	0

From,

* To which circumstance should be added a recollection of the bounty of 15s. 8½d. payable upon every hundred weight of Lump Sugar exported from Ireland.

From which sum, deduct the bounty,
payable to the British exporter, on
every hundred weight, - 0 15 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

And a ballance of - £ 0 9 3 $\frac{1}{2}$
remains, unequivocally, in favour of the Irish
refiner. But, my Lord, though in the above
state, I have estimated the charges of bringing
Sugar circuitously through Great Britain only at
3s. 6d. the hundred weight, they certainly
should have been set down at more. He, who
appeared at the bar of the House of Commons,
as the representative of the refiners of Ireland,
and who cannot be suspected of partiality to-
wards the British sugar-dealers, stated them at
four shillings the hundred, and the loss sustained
by the Irish manufacturers of that article, by
being situated so far from the market, at two
shillings the hundred more. Now, my Lord,
what are the conclusions which inevitably arise
from the facts which he thus gave in evidence?
If the price of raw sugar be averaged, even so
extravagantly high as 3*l.* the hundred, which it
cannot be supposed it will continue to bear, the
loss to us in bringing that article from Great
Britain is 6*l.* 13s. 4d. in every hundred pounds
worth

worth purchased ; and, consequently, the other loss of two shillings in the hundred weight, incurred by our being so distant from the British markets, must amount to 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* more. Wherefore, it is evident, a direct trade with the West India islands, independent of any advantage we may derive from our exports thither, is recommended to us by a positive saving of 10*l.* in the purchase of every hundred pounds worth of sugar. The intercourse, my Lord, has already begun. Encouraged by so great a saving as we see it is, it cannot but continue, and must increase; and, of course, the prosperity of the Irish refiner must greatly advance *.——And, is this the free-trade, my Lord, which is a boasted nothing ?——Is this the trade which an anxious nation solicited but to reject and despise ?——Or is it not rather a pearl beyond price ? In truth, my Lord, however interested men may wish the contrary, the day, I am persuaded, is at

* Are many of our merchants and refiners too confined in their capitals, to undertake freighting a vessel individually to and from the West-Indies ? Is it not exceedingly practicable to establish temporary companies for the purpose ? What one cannot effect, two may accomplish ; and what two cannot accomplish, three or more may complete.

at hand, when the multitude, although they may have been seduced to join in the outcry against government, and the liberality of Great-Britain *, will confess that they have been secured from the effects of a grievous monopoly by the wisdom of parliament †; that our sovereign

* In 1777, the national debt amounted to 1,017,600*l.*; but, when it shall be recollected that, in a period of twenty-seven years, from 1751 to 1778, the remittances, for the purpose only of paying such of our troops as served abroad amounted to upwards of 1,401,925, it will become evident to what cause we should impute that debt. From this weighty charge, however, the generosity of Britain has relieved us—a circumstance, I think, which, with a gift from her own exchequer of 50,000*l.* and a loan of more than that sum in the day of our necessity, should have been credited in those accounts lately presented to the public, in which she is charged with dissingenuity, rapacity, treachery, illiberality, selfishness, and a variety of other articles, to a large amount, and as—honestly set down.

† That a monopoly of refined sugar was aimed at by our refiners, is, I think, evident, from its having been proposed to parliament to place such a duty upon the importation of that article, as would have proved an absolute prohibition. Indeed, if an impost of but 16*s.* 7½*d.* on the hundred weight had been established, it could scarcely have failed to produce the same mischievous effect, since, it is not to be believed that,

reign has been truly generous, his ministers just, and our Chief Governor, most faithfully attached to the commercial interests of Ireland.

HOWEVER

that, under a manifest disadvantage of 16*s.* 8*d.* in the price of every hundred weight of Lump Sugar, the British could attempt to rival the Irish manufacturers. Wherefore, the latter might exact from the public, such prices as pleased them; and, it is not to be presumed they would by any means be found deficient in inclination, to accumulate fortunes as rapidly as possible. But, the pockets of the public are not to be emptied that those of a few may be filled; nor is it to be forgotten that every addition to the price of the necessaries of life, among which sugar may now be reckoned, is an immediate tax upon manufactures. Enhance the price of these, and the demand will decrease. If that decreases, the native products of the country must decline in value, and, ultimately, the landed interest must suffer.—Upon the whole, however the ideas of Mr. Thomson may differ from mine, he himself adduces an unanswerable argument against laying a further duty on lump sugar imported. He says that, “in part of 1775 and 1776,” when the business here brought a profit of 10*l.* *per cent. per annum*, and the duty stood only at 12*s.* 3*d.* “there were very large importations,” and that the Irish refiners “would not be able,” to prevent *as large*, if a new duty of 16*s.* 7½*d.* were laid.” Now, if as great importations may be expected when duties are high, as were made when duties were low, where is the necessity to tax our neighbours, without benefitting ourselves?

HOWEVER numerous the motives which led me to consider him, my Lord, a friend to commerce; as many arise to induce me to look upon his Excellency as a citizen of the world; a patriot rather for mankind than a country; an advocate for the hereditary rights of human nature; and, consequently, a sincere friend to the interests of freedom, whether she gladdens the icy regions of the North, or adds delights to the genial climates of the South; whether, making the Laplander a philosopher, she instructs him to discover in his herd of rein deer, the all which modest Nature demands; or, crowning the intellectual enjoyments of the lettered Briton, bids him proclaim to the world that existence is a blessing. My Lord, if our Sovereign be great, in being the chief of a numerous people—if he be greater in being the chief of a people who are as rich as they are numerous—if he be greater still in being the chief of a people who are as spirited as they are rich and numerous—and, if he be supereminently great in rejoicing to be the chief of a people who are as free as they are spirited, as rich as they are free, and as numerous as they are rich, his Excellency cannot but be illustrious in having laboured, and with success,

to

to perfect the commercial, civil and religious liberties of a people, who, though less the favourites of fortune, as yet, than their kindred in Britain, are equally legitimatized by Nature, in possessing a like heirloom to her favours. The King, indeed, is the centre of our political system, but Lord Buckingham has been the planet endued with the power of reflecting his lustre and warmth upon those, who are too distant from the horizon in which he rises, immediately to enjoy them.—At a period when an union of the hands and hearts of the nation was absolutely necessary to its welfare, he, my Lord, rejecting the illiberal idea which recommends infliction of punishment upon those who will not renounce, what neither law, nor the sword of persecution, has ever been able to overcome, peculiarity of religious sentiment :—He, my Lord, seeing no sin against the state in mere difference of opinion, no sin in allowing that freedom of thought to others which Omniscience allows to us all, and which, if improperly used, an Almighty hand is uplifted to chastise :—He, I say, my Lord, with the true benevolence of protestant charity, with a policy as wise as it was humane, sought to “cement party and party,”

party," to effect a "social alliance of protestants and romanists *," by co-operating in the relief of the latter; who, "upon being permitted," approved themselves truly "earnest in giving the most solemn assurances of their fidelity to their Sovereign †." The numerous and loyal body of protestant dissenters have also to confess his Excellency's benevolent attention to their wishes, in assisting to free them from the influence of the Test-act; and, it deserves to be acknowledged with unceasing gratitude, that the generous support he gave the invaluable Tenantry-bill, was calculated to promote a truly respectable yeomanry in Ireland. To these particulars of his conduct, my Lord, shall I add his frugality in expending the national treasure? his prudent encouragement of public amusements? and, his generous and ennobling patronage of letters? a patronage unexampled in the history of his predecessors, and which, though much applauded, has not been praised enough. For myself, my Lord, I confess, I scarcely know which most to admire, his liberality in offering literary prizes, or the taste he exhibited in the subjects

* Vid. Letters on the Temper of the Times, p. 6.

† Vid. Ibid.

subjects proposed to the candidates.—The first of these was important—the second great—the last noble—and all propitious, to the interests of true knowledge and virtue.—Let other lovers of literature praise him upon this occasion, my Lord ;—it is mine to feel.

HAVING thus endeavoured to do justice to those merits which add dignity to his character as Chief Governor of Ireland, I should be negligent, indeed, my Lord, were I to overlook some others, which equally ennoble him as a man. I confess, when I consider the number of his charities, their application, and the manner in which they were conferred, I cannot prevent my fancy, from rambling back to those happy times of religious simplicity, when Abraham was wont to place himself in the door of his tent, and in the heat of noon, solicitous to seize opportunities of refreshing the weary wanderer, whom, as soon as seen “ he ran to meet *;” or, when Boaz, in the gracious language of generosity, bade Ruth “ to abide fast by his maidens”

* Genes. c. xviii. v. 2.

dens" to eat and to drink with them; and commanded his reapers apart, not barely to permit her "to glean among the sheaves," but "to let fall some of the handfuls" that she might gather them without shame †. It appears to me, my Lord, that, like the former, he has been anxious to anticipate the claims of distress; and, like the latter to enhance bounty, as well by the mode of conferring, as by applying it worthily. Decayed industry has to acknowledge his truly generous endeavours to smooth its path to the grave ‡; and those seminaries, in which, it is hoped, future naval and military heroes are sustained, have largely participated his bounty §. Indeed, my Lord, not for a month or a year only, are the effects of his beneficence to exist. They have been directed to extend to futurity, to win applause from after-generations, and to continue as monuments

† Ruth, c. ii. from v. 8.

‡ Alluding to the benefaction to the Weavers' Almshouse.

§ The Military and Marine Schools.

numents to humanity and himself. Such, especially, it is to be thought, that charity, lately founded by his Excellency *, will continue, calculated as it is to check a disease, obstructive to population, not only by its ravages "on the human face divine †," but on the lives of the people. The attempt was humane, political and patriotic, being directed to abate misery, promote connubial alliances, and add to the national stock of opulence and strength.

HOWEVER imitable, my Lord, his beneficence may be, it cannot be more eminently so, than that spirit of moderation which has uniformly governed his conduct. Happy for this kingdom it had been, had the multitude caught its influence. Friendships, not factions—peace not party—industry not idleness, might reasonably be looked for as the consequences. But, my Lord, one of the greatest misfortunes of many amongst us, is a readiness to receive opinions

* The Inoculation-hospital.

† Milton.

nions from those who, as wise as the oroscopists of old, can sometimes, even amidst the blessings of prosperity, see ruin at every look. Hence, they murmur, like the Israelites of old, though delivered from the yoke of bondage, and advancing to the Canaan of their wishes. And hence, even while his Excellency's administration has been acknowledged, just, a Leinster, a Lifford, a Conolly, and other as disinterested characters as the nation knows, have been calumniated for supporting it. But, my Lord, their consolation is at hand. It is as much to their credit to have acted as his auxiliaries, as it is to his own honour that, by integrity of conduct, he induced, what politics could never have brought about, all tempers in parliament to coalesce, for the purpose of applauding him, for the honest purpose of confessing, that the generous aim of his administration was the welfare of Ireland.

If, my Lord, it be almost impossible to withhold admiration from consistency of conduct, even when observed in unjustifiable pursuits, how

how deep must the impressions be which it makes, when evidently exerted to accomplish the interests of humanity ! The former astonishes in the character of Augustus ; who, by a steady pursuit of his darling object, became great. The latter charms in the conduct of our Chief Governor which, being as zealously directed to the aggrandizement of a public, has succeeded accordingly. Fancy, in the one case thinks Cæsar great, but reason, in the other, calls Buckingham glorious.

In truth, my Lord, he has faithfully watched over the interests of Ireland ; and, by a conduct as disinterested as it was noble, has secured to this realm, advantages of the most estimable kind. He has looked to a people at large ; and, like Augustus in Egypt, has co-operated with nature, in endeavouring to render this kingdom, a mart for nations, a plentiful store-house for the world. His œconomy has been for a public, his patriotism for mankind. He has done more than provide for the present age, he has bequeathed independence to a people unborn. He has establish-

ed

ed to us a free-trade; and, if he has not induced us to conclude he was of the Epicurean school, by the frequency or Antonian costliness of his feasts, he has enabled us to feast ourselves. Not masquerades but manufactures; not cards but commerce; not the importation of foreign follies and faults, but the exportation of Irish productions, engrossed his attention. Great in private; great within himself, he has forced even Prejudice to praise him. Scandal, my Lord, it is unhappily true, has babbled; but, as the value of blessings is, in idea, too generally diminished by possession, notwithstanding she considered him as something less than he was when, it may be said, he belonged to ourselves; no sooner had she heard of his being to depart from us—perhaps for ever!—than she was seized with an oblivion of those memorials which had been written on her brain—she forgot herself!—welcomed penitence! and—~~wept!~~—She wept! my Lord; for, although, in other countries, it would perhaps be recorded as a *Lusus Naturæ* in

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the annals of Philosophy, in Ireland, it is common enough to find Scandal, however weak of head, good at heart.

Thus numerous as are his virtues, my Lord, what can I wish him?—Happiness?—It is allotted to the good, and must be his——Reputation?—Travel to what part of the world he may, his name shall arrive and be received before him——Increase of wealth?—He has enough at present to indulge a propensity to do good, and more is not worth a thought——Superadded understanding?—He is illustriously wise whose conduct is illustriously virtuous——The respect of Britain?—It is his——The love of Ireland?—He possesses it already——In fact, my Lord, to him who wants nothing, I have nothing to wish, save only years increasing upon years, not so much for himself as for the good of mankind. Therefore, permit me, my Lord, to take my leave in four lines, which shall be indebted to his name for being long held in remembrance.

A BUCK-

A BUCKINGHAM he came, to blefs ;
A BUCKINGHAM he will retire ;
No fordid arts shall make him less,
And Heaven alone can lift him higher !

I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's faithful,

Devoted, and most

Obedient humble Servant,

December 20th,
1780.

THE AUTHOR;

F I N I S.

52 + 0 = 60

I am

A BUCKINGHAM he came, to show;

A BUCKINGHAM he will tell;

No lord but he will tell him this;

And Heaven alone can lift him higher!

I am

My Lord,

Your Lordship's faithful,

Devoted, and most

Obedient humble servant,

December 20th,

1801

THE AUTHOR

P I N I S

